

## THE DAILY JOURNAL

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1890.

WASHINGTON OFFICE—513 Fourteenth st.

P. S. HEATH, Correspondent.

Telephone Calls.

Business Office.....281 Editorial Rooms.....262

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

DAILY BY MAIL.

One year, without Sunday.....\$12.00

One year, with Sunday.....14.00

Six months, without Sunday.....6.00

Six months, with Sunday.....7.00

Three months, without Sunday.....3.00

Three months, with Sunday.....3.50

One month, without Sunday.....1.00

One month, with Sunday.....1.25

Delivered by carrier in city, 5 cents per week.

WEEKLY.

Per year.....\$1.00

Reduced Rates to Clubs.

Subscribers with any other newspapers, or send

subscriptions to the

JOURNAL NEWSPAPER COMPANY,

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Persons sending the Journal through the mails in

the United States should put on an eight-cent paper

a one-cent postage stamp; on a twelve or sixteen-

page paper a two-cent postage stamp. Foreign

postage is usually double these rates.

All communications intended for publication in

this paper must be in order to receive attention, be-

companied by the name and address of the writer.

THE INDIANAPOLIS JOURNAL

Can be found at the following places:

LONDON—American Exchange in Europe, 449

Rue de la Harpe.

PARIS—American Exchange in Paris, 26 Boulevard

des Capucines.

NEW YORK—Gilesey House and Windsor Hotel.

PHILADELPHIA—A. F. Kemble, 273 Lancaster

avenue.

CHICAGO—Palmer House.

CINCINNATI—J. P. Hawley &amp; Co., 154 Vine street.

LOUISVILLE—C. T. Deering, northwest corner

Third and Jefferson streets.

ST. LOUIS—Union News Company, Union Depot

and Southern Hotel.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Riggs House and Ebbitt

House.

We realize that the negro is our equal be-

fore the law. We also realize that, if he be

allowed freely to vote, and to have his vote

honestly counted and returned, we, the white

people of South Carolina, will be in a minority.

We must submit to that or quit the State, and

in, and in all reverence, we swear that we will

never quit the State.—Representative Hemphill,

of South Carolina.

TEACH American patriotism July 4

and there will be no danger of the red

rag of anarchy or the crazy-quilt flag of

socialism.

THE well-regulated family that has

not a copy of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence in the house should secure one

at once and have it read regularly.

SINCE it has been decided that the lot-

tery question should be submitted to

only the white voters of Louisiana all

doubt about the final success of the octopus

has been removed.

FOUR election officers in Jersey City

have been convicted of crookedness in

the late election, and will get into the

penitentiary—a loss of four votes to the

Democratic party in the November elec-

tion.

THE Philadelphia Press asks: "Has

the United States Senate virtue enough

and sense enough to put a check on un-

due loquacity and present a barrier

against willful obstruction?" The peo-

ple hope that it has.

WHEN young America is murdering

sleep with his noisy explosives, comfort

may be found in the assurance that the

boy who spends a half dozen Fourth of

July nights in such occupation will

never fire a shot upon the American flag.

THE rumor comes from Washington

that the Senate may let the federal

election bill go over until the next ses-

sion, in order to give the Southern lead-

ers an opportunity to show the honesty

of their professions in the November

elections. This has been tried a dozen

years.

How strangely Abraham Lincoln's

grand sentence would read if it were

amended according to the Southern

Democratic doctrine, "This is a govern-

ment of white people, for white people,"

by white people." It was not Lincoln's

doctrine, and it is not good Fourth of

July doctrine.

THE Fourth of July is one day on

which the croaker and the pessimist

should hide themselves in a back room.

A nation with 64,500,000 people and

growing, and, beyond that, the most

intelligent and prosperous in the world,

is a Fourth of July fact, and, therefore,

cannot please the purveyors of misery.

"YES," said an army officer recently,

"the flag of the United States should fly

from every school-house as it does from

every public building, every day school

is in session. The boys and girls should

stand with uncovered heads when it is

raised in the morning and when it is

lowered at night." This is the day to

talk about the old flag.

THE Massachusetts Legislature pro-

poses to pass a bill requiring all lawyers

who appear as counsel for suitors before

the committees of that body to enter

their names where the public can see

them, and all those persons who propose

to act as lobbyists must sign a book set-

tling forth their vocations. The latter

have become too numerous and too

officials.

THE decent people of this congress-

ional district will regret to learn that

Representative Bynum is announced to

make "the long talk" for Tammany Hall

to-day, a political combination which

stands for all that is corrupt and vicious

in politics, and whose corruption has re-

cently been exposed to a degree that no

New York paper had the impudence to

defend it.

HERE in the North we hear of a great

many contemplated negro uprisings, but

in twenty-five years there has not been

a real rising of colored men to murder

whites or to destroy their property. One

incident of the kind has just taken place

in Amite, La. Some whites heard or pre-

tended that they had heard of a negro

uprising, and, therefore, started out to

prevent it. Several negroes were shot

and more were whipped, and now every-

thing is quiet. There is no pretense that

the negroes were guilty of unlawful acts,

but they shot and whipped those whom

they chose to suspect of the outrage. It

is a typical race war—that is, one side

furnished the arms and ammunition and

the other side the dead and wounded.

NOT a few of the Western silver ad-

vocates are in-bued with the flat-money

doctrine, the idea that the dictum of the

government can create value. Undoubt-  
edly the dictum of the government can  
go far toward creating public confidence  
in this or that form of money, which is  
the real basis upon which its value as  
money rests, but it cannot do every-  
thing, even with its own people, much  
less with foreign nations, among whom  
it is desirable that our money should be  
received at its full face value. One ex-  
periment has shown that a limited num-  
ber of silver dollars can by this dictum  
be sustained at par. If another experi-  
ment shall show that nearly the total  
silver production of the United States  
can be sustained at par likewise, it will  
be time enough to talk about free coin-  
age.

## THE FOURTH.

The chief value of all holidays is in  
changing the current of men's thoughts  
and lifting them to something higher  
than the selfish and sordid affairs of  
every-day life. Some author speaks of  
"the explosive power of a new emotion,"  
meaning the power of a new emotion to  
displace old ones and supply, at least  
temporarily, a new motive power for  
the moral nature. A new emotion often  
has an excellent effect in this way, but  
an old one rightly utilized can perform  
the same service many times over. It is  
to be hoped the sentiment of patriotism  
is not a new emotion to any of us, yet  
there are times when it comes with ex-  
pulsive power enough to supplant all  
other emotions and absorb all other  
ideas. Such a time pre-eminently is the  
Fourth of July.

The value of the day is not merely  
that of a general holiday on which the  
national work-shop is closed and the  
national mind given a brief rest from  
its ordinary routine of body and  
brain-consuming labor. This is a great  
thing, but any recognized holiday may  
do that. The Fourth performs a service  
much higher and more valuable in that  
it almost compels us to give some serious  
thought to the circumstances of our na-  
tional origin and to some of the great  
events of our national history. This al-  
most inevitably leads to some contem-  
plation of our national blessings, and  
ends in the conclusion that, as American  
citizens, we have much to be proud of  
and much to be thankful for. Such thoughts  
ought to come oftener than once a year,  
but better once a year than not at all. On  
the Fourth of July it is impossible to  
avoid them; therefore, long live the  
Fourth!

It does not detract at all from the wis-  
dom of the men of '76 to say that they  
had no conception of the future growth  
and greatness of the Republic which the  
Declaration of Independence was to  
usher into existence. It rarely happens  
that men rightly estimate the relative  
importance of their acts. The men who  
signed the Declaration of Independence  
were probably more concerned about the  
immediate present than they were about  
the future. It is even possible that their  
minds were more occupied just then with  
the question of personal safety than with  
that of the establishment of a new govern-  
ment. Every man of them must have felt,  
as he affixed his signature, that he was  
burning his bridges behind him, and that  
the rest of his life might have to be spent  
in dodging the King's officers. One of  
them is reported to have said, "Gentle-  
men, we must hang together now, or we  
shall certainly hang separately." They did  
hang together right bravely, and most of  
them lived to see the principles of the De-  
claration, purified by the war and strength-  
ened by the stormy period of the Con-  
stitution, formulated at last in the  
corner-stone of our government and the  
universal charter of human liberty. The  
men of '76 knew a good deal, but they  
built better than they knew.

But the building which they began is  
not yet completed. We who are enjoy-  
ing the fruits of their wisdom and  
patriotism should not fall into the error  
of supposing that the work of establish-  
ing human rights and of perfecting the  
union of liberty and law is done. It will  
never be done. There is as much and  
almost as important work to be done now  
as there was a hundred years ago. We  
are working for posterity as truly as our  
fathers did. The question is, what will  
posterity think of our work?

The Fourth of July is the great na-  
tional holiday of the American people.  
Other days have local or sectional sig-  
nificance, but Independence day and its  
history and memories must find a hearty  
response in the heart of every real  
American citizen. If there is one who  
lives in this country whose heart is not  
thrilled with the memories of the day,  
and with the great truths set forth in  
the Declaration of Independence, he may  
know that he is, at heart, an alien, even  
if his forefathers were born on its soil.  
It is that inspired avowal of human  
rights which makes the day memorable,  
rather than the fact that it was the day  
on which it was promulgated. The De-  
claration is the inspiration of all that  
is humane and progressive in our in-  
stitutions and laws. It is the bill of  
rights which, if our laws breathe its  
spirit, and are saturated by its self-evident  
truths, there will be no injustice in the  
land. What the Sermon on the Mount is  
to the Christian religion, the Declaration of  
Independence is to human freedom. Its  
spirit carried the fathers through the re-  
volution and bound the colonies together  
as a Nation until the Constitution was  
adopted. When the Constitution has been  
a dead letter and the Union has been  
assailed, it has been because the people  
have forgotten the Declaration of Inde-  
pendence. But otherwise July 4 has been  
a notable day in the history of the United  
States. On that day two of its Presidents,  
the elder Adams and Jefferson, died. On  
it Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant  
and the "unreversed" Mississippi divided  
the territory of treason in twain. On the  
same day the flood tide of treason, in the  
charge of Pickett's division, beat upon  
the Gettysburg, and receded never to  
reach so high a point again. Those  
great Fourth of July victories came to  
revive the loyal heart and were the  
turning point in the great struggle to

establish the truths of the immortal De-  
claration on this continent and in the  
world.

Such a day in a nation's life should  
not be a mere holiday, but rather a holy  
day, devoted to thoughts and expres-  
sions of thankfulness, elation and the  
highest patriotism.

## THE VIEWS OF A SOUTHERN JUDGE.

Judge Fenner, of the Supreme Court  
of Louisiana, has written an article on  
the race question, which, coming at the  
present time, from so eminent a man, is  
worth attention. He states his theory  
for the solution of the important ques-  
tion in the words: "Government for the  
white; protection for the black." This,  
he believes, is the only platform upon  
which the whites and blacks can live to-  
gether in friendship. He admits that  
both have the same political rights, but  
in order that there may be peace be-  
tween the races, the negro must volun-  
tarily declare his purpose to relinquish  
the right which is the token of citizen-  
ship and never participate in any act  
which has to do with government. He  
must never go near a voting-place, be-  
cause it is not for his interest to do so.  
It will not require a large amount of  
intelligence to see that the theory of the  
Chief-justice is the same as that upon  
which the right of minority  
and ruling classes to govern  
the weaker is based. As a theory  
of government it exists in no civilized  
country to-day, except in Russia. A  
century or more ago Europe contained  
several dynasties which denied the  
masses the right to participate in any  
form of government. It was the govern-  
ment of privilege based upon caste.  
The Declaration of Independence was  
fulminated against all such governments,  
and that inspired proclamation, finding  
lodgment in the hearts of the masses,  
has tumbled throne after throne to the  
ground, until Russia is now the only  
government of a so-called Christian na-  
tion in which the people are not per-  
mitted to participate in some manner.  
And now the Chief-justice of Louisiana  
proposes to establish a similar exclusion  
of a portion of the people from any  
voice in government, upon the basis of  
color. The frankness of the Judge is  
charming. He admits that the colored  
man has the right to vote and then goes  
on to say that he is not al-  
lowed to vote because "the right  
to vote involves the right to  
govern by majorities." By attempting to  
vote the negro incurs the hostility of the  
white, and to get rid of that the Judge  
suggests that he forfeit his right to take  
any share in government such as the  
ballot-box confers. Stated in plain  
terms, such a surrender involves serf-  
dom and the forfeiture of all other  
rights, since the man who does not pos-  
sess citizenship will not receive that pro-  
tection of life and property which are  
the inalienable rights of all men. The  
race which has no power to affect gov-  
ernment, no voice in the enforcement of  
the laws or in making them, sinks to the  
level of serfdom and is sure to be the vic-  
tim of those who have power. But the con-  
fession of the Judge is interesting just  
now, because it is a denial of the claims  
which Democrats are making in Con-  
gress, namely: that the federal election  
law is unnecessary, because the right to  
vote is as untrammelled in the South as  
in the North. Judge Fenner says that  
the colored man is not allowed to vote,  
and justifies that position. He lives in  
Louisiana, where men are frank in re-  
gard to the matter. All of this goes to  
show that a federal election law is nec-  
essary, absolutely so.

## SPRINGER ON FEDERAL SUPERVISION.

In the election in 1876, in the Fourth  
Massachusetts district, the vote was so  
close between Judge Field, Republican,  
and Mr. Benjamin Dean, Democrat, that  
it turned upon a recount by the Board  
of Aldermen in the city of Boston. By the  
count of the ward officers and of the  
United States supervisors, Mr. Dean was  
declared elected by two pluralities, but by  
a recount of the Board of Aldermen, in  
accordance with the law of Massachu-  
setts, which applies to all officers, a plu-  
rality of five votes was found for Judge  
Field, and, upon that recount, the Gov-  
ernor issued the certificate to him. At the  
recount the federal supervisors were not  
present. The House—that of the Forty-  
fifth Congress—was Democratic, and,  
after full hearing, the majority of the  
committee on elections reported in  
favor of seating the Democratic con-  
testant, Mr. Dean. The majority or  
Democratic report was drawn by  
Hon. William M. Springer, who is  
now denouncing the pending federal  
election bill as an unconstitutional as-  
sumption of power, in that it takes from  
the local election officers and from State  
officers the authority to issue certificates  
of election and makes the returns of  
federal election officers to take prece-  
dence of those of local or State officers.  
In view of the vehemence of Mr.  
Springer and his friends, his report at  
that time is what the lamented Greeley  
was wont to call "mighty interesting  
reading"—so interesting that some ex-  
tracts are given:

Congress, in pursuance of its constitu-  
tional power to make regulations as to the  
time, place and manner of holding elec-  
tions for Representatives in Congress, or to  
alter State regulations on the subject, en-  
acted the following provisions:—[The  
provisions of the existing federal election law.]  
The provisions referred to are precisely  
the same as in the pending bill, except  
the power of supervisors to certify. Then  
the Springer report proceeds as follows:

They [the provisions of the existing fed-  
eral election law] must be held valid and  
binding upon the State. The very moment  
of the enactment of these provisions, Feb.  
28, 1871, they became a part of the election  
law of the State of Massachusetts, over-  
ruling all opposing State laws made or to be  
made by the State, and the passage of the  
State law of April 20, 1876, authorizing an  
aldermanic count, so far as it provided for  
the taking of the final vote for Representa-  
tives in Congress out of the supervision  
and scrutiny of the United States super-  
visors of elections, was an invasion, if not  
a nullification, of the United States law.

If there could be a more emphatic  
avowal of the supreme right of the  
United States government to conduct  
congressional elections, some other lan-  
guage than the American must be dis-  
covered. The Springer report further  
emphasizes the right of Congress in the  
matter as follows:

After Congress has provided for the ap-  
pointment of two supervisors of election

for each voting place, and has required  
such supervisors to count the vote for  
Representative to Congress, and to remain  
with the ballot-boxes until the count was  
wholly completed, and the certificates  
made, it is not competent for any State to  
provide another board of canvassers who  
may take possession of the ballot-boxes,  
exclude the law of Massachusetts and in-  
terfere with the votes and declare different  
results.

In his speech advocating the adoption  
of this report Mr. Springer said:

I ask the Representatives of Massachu-  
setts on this floor to vote in this case as  
they require the law of Massachusetts to  
conform to the federal laws.

And again, passing beyond the House  
and the Massachusetts delegation, he  
appealed to the people of Massachu-  
setts, 200 miles away, saying:

I ask the people of the United States to  
make their laws conform to the federal  
laws.

As the champion of federal law and  
federal supremacy in the supervision of  
congressional elections, Mr. Springer  
made the following bold avowal of that  
exclusive right for Congress:

Will it be contended that after the fed-  
eral supervisors have scrutinized one elec-  
tion and one State count, it is competent  
for the State to set aside its own election  
and count where the federal supervisors  
were present, and then go off into some se-  
cret hiding-place under the pretext of State  
rights to hold another election, and to  
another count in disregard of the federal  
law? The Constitution of the United  
States provides that all laws passed by  
Congress under the Constitution are the  
supreme law, supreme in Louisiana, su-  
preme in Massachusetts, supreme every-  
where throughout the broad extent of the  
land. The Congress of the United States  
has provided that United States super-  
visors shall be present at all times and  
all places for the registration, voting  
and counting, canvassing and making the  
returns of the election, and a State law  
which makes provisions for recounting the  
ballots in disregard of the federal law is  
in accordance with the law of the land,  
and is, therefore, void.

Thus it appears that Mr. Springer,  
one of the Democratic leaders in the  
present House, in 1878 declared that the  
Governor of Massachusetts, in issuing a  
certificate of election upon a count not  
made by the federal supervisors of elec-  
tion, violated a federal law, and that  
the certificate of federal supervisors  
should alone determine the election of  
Representatives in Congress. No Republi-  
can has claimed more than this, and  
all that the pending bill provides in  
this direction is that when the certificate  
of the federal canvassing boards and  
that of the Governors of States are in  
conflict, that of the supervisors shall  
have precedence. And this is what Mr.  
Springer advocated in 1878. No wonder  
Mr. Springer was quite appalled when  
he was confronted with his centralizing  
sentiments of twelve years ago.

The Washington Post, in attempting  
to trace the inspiration of a Journal  
editorial to Washington, goes so far as  
to attribute to Private Secretary Hal-  
ford the statement that in regard to re-  
ciprocity of trade, "the President is op-  
posed to throwing away our trump cards  
when every one of them is good for a  
trick." The Post says:

No doubt Mr. Halford has given much  
attention to works on diplomacy since his  
installation in his present position, but  
where does he find authority to inject  
trump cards, and other technical terms  
into the old school diplomacy? The  
official utterances of this administra-  
tion? Mr. Halford was not given to the  
use of such modern expressions before his  
coming to Washington. Can it be that the  
wicked atmosphere of the wicked capital  
has so influenced Mr. Halford that he will  
in the future be given to mixing his dip-  
lomacy and common sense with such unstat-  
emantic terms as "tricks" and "trumps"?

The Post knows as well as anybody  
that there are many Democrats in and  
about Washington, and that the official  
duties of the private secretary bring  
him more or less into contact with  
them. It would not be surprising,  
therefore, if he should pick up some of  
their forms of expression and use them  
for the purposes of familiar illustration  
without intending to endorse their prac-  
tices or principles. In this case, how-  
ever, it is due to Mr. Halford to relieve  
him of all responsibility for an article  
which might subject him to the suspi-  
cion of personal intimacy with Demo-  
cratic members of Congress. The figure  
relative to "trump cards" and  
"tricks" was conceived right here in the  
Journal office. The Journal is pleased  
to see that it was so readily understood  
by the Post, but does not want any per-  
son connected with the administration  
to be held responsible for the moral  
lapses of the Journal. The Journal still  
thinks the figure a good one, and as-  
sumes all responsibility for it here and  
elsewhere. That is another Demo-  
cratic expression, but let it go.

The enforcement of such a law as the  
proposed federal election law will add  
upon the country an expense variously  
estimated at from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000  
for the election of 1892. It will cost  
million and a half dollars for chief super-  
visors, six millions or more for deputy  
supervisors, four millions for deputy marshals.

This is absurd. It assumes that the  
law would be applied in every con-  
gressional district in the United States,  
whereas the bill expressly provides that  
it shall only be applied in districts  
where it is asked for by one hundred  
voters or more. Out of about 350 dis-  
tricts not more than a score or two  
would ask to have the law enforced,  
and when the rule of honest elections  
was established it would not have to be  
enforced at all. The enforcement of the  
present law would cost a very large  
sum if universally applied, but as a mat-  
ter of fact it has only been asked for in  
a few cities and at rare intervals.

In an article in the North American  
Review Speaker Reed sets forth the  
difficulties attending the investigation  
and settlement of contested election  
cases in the House and the unsatisfactory  
results. In casting about for a remedy,  
he suggests that the testimony sought  
be taken under the direction of the  
judges of the United States Circuit  
Courts, under rules regarding evidence  
established by them, and that such  
courts report to the House the testimony  
and the results of the investigation of  
cases, upon which the House can then  
act more judicially than under the present  
system.

MEN frequently achieve prominence in  
one line of business who could never have  
amounted to a row of pins in any other  
line. There is Mr. Cleveland, for example. What  
newspaper would tolerate for a day his  
ponderous verbosity were he a member of  
its staff?

ONCE in a while the New York World  
does the city of New York valuable service,  
and it is engaged in a piece of that